

New York Prohibitionist



Think NY Vote Dry

150th Anniversary Issue

The 150th Anniversary

Welcome to our special 150th anniversary issue of the New York Prohibitionist. This issue commemorates the 150th Anniversary of the founding of the Prohibition Party. On September 1st, 1869, the national Prohibition Party was formally established at a conference in Chicago. This was the beginning of our party's long history as a national force for promoting principled social and political reform in the country. In this issue, we will reflect on 150 years of Prohibition Party History.



Press Release

The Following is a press release statement from the national Prohibition Party commemorating the party's 150th Anniversary.

This year, we celebrate an important milestone in the history of the Prohibition Party. September 1st, 2019 marks the 150th anniversary of the founding of the Prohibition Party. The Prohibition Party is the oldest living minor party and third oldest living political party in the United States. The Prohibition Party has a long, rich, and continuing history.

The Prohibition Party held its first national conference on September 1st, 1869. Since then, the Prohibition Party has acted as a champion of temperance and prohibitionism. The Prohibition Party's activism helped lead to the temporary establishment of nationwide prohibition in the U.S., from 1920-1933. To this day, the Prohibition Party continued to advocate for strong actions to combat alcohol as a public health problem and for restricting and prohibiting the sale of alcohol.

In addition to anti-alcohol activism, the Prohibition Party has championed social reform, ethical public service, and various policies aimed at protecting and advancing the lives and wellbeing of the people. The party has advocated for reforms, including women's suffrage, civil service laws, the direct election of

senators, child labor laws, civil rights laws, and many other important causes.

The Prohibition Party helped lead the way in promoting women's participation in politics. The Prohibition Party was the first national party to formally support women's suffrage, with its first national platform in 1872. The party elected Susanna Salter, the first woman mayor in the U.S., nominated Anna Woodbey, the first African American woman candidate for office, and nominated Marie Brehm, the first legally recognized woman candidate for Vice-President, in 1924.

The Prohibition Party has run a candidate for president in every election since 1872. The party has also run numerous candidates for federal, state, and local offices. The party has elected hundreds of candidates to local offices, has elected candidates to state legislatures in multiple states, elected Charles Randall to congress in 1914, and elected Sidney Catts governor of Florida in 1916. In more recent times, James Hedges was elected Tax Assessor for Thomson Township, Pennsylvania, in 2001 and 2005. In 2016, the party had its largest presidential results since 1988. And earlier this year, Phil Collins came in second place for mayor of Las Vegas, Nevada.

The Prohibition Party has challenged the power of the major parties, contributed to our national discourse, and helped drive the progress of this country. The Prohibition Party's activism continues to this day, and it will advance into the future, as we create the next chapters of its history.

Comments by Randy McNutt

Randy McNutt is the Prohibition Party National Chairman. In regards to the party's 150th anniversary, McNutt wrote,

"The Prohibition Party has lasted a century and a half because its message and membership haven't wavered. Though votes are important, they aren't everything. Since 1869, numerous third parties have attracted significant followings. But they haven't lasted. The Prohibition Party has continued because it provides moral leadership."

Comments by James Hedges

James Hedges was the Prohibition Party candidate for president in 2016, in which he delivered the party's largest electoral result since 1988. Currently he is the Prohibition Party Vice-Chairman and acting party treasurer.

In regards to the party's 150th anniversary, Hedges wrote,

"we have lasted this long because we are dedicated to a cause instead of being followers of some charismatic person, and because the social problem the cause seeks to heal is still widespread, today.

Other organizations founded about the same time to deal in different ways with the same problem, the evil of beverage alcohol, such as the WCTU and the Rechabites, are also still alive. So long as greed and indifference to suffering are part of human nature, there will be a place in society for a counter-acting political party of social concern -- the Prohibition Party."

Comments from the Presidential Ticket

The current Prohibition Party Presidential for 2020 consists of Phil Collins for President and Billy Joe Parker for President.

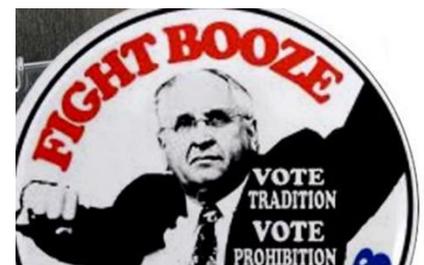
In regards to the 150th Anniversary and his nomination, Collins wrote,

"I'm honored to have received the Prohibition Party's presidential nomination during the year that our party celebrates 150 years. I'd like to thank everyone, who voted for me, during the Aug. 24 conference call. I'll work hard to promote the party and our platform. I hope that we'll be on ballots in more states and receive more votes, compared to 2016."

In regards to the 150th Anniversary, Parker wrote,

"September 1st, the anniversary of the birth of the Prohibition Party in Chicago in AD 1869.

For 150 years the Prohibition Party has served the USA and the American People, fighting for the lives of the nation and the people, often times against great odds. When the going gets tough, the Prohibition Party gets tougher, because lives are at stake."





An Address Commemorating the 150th Anniversary of the Founding of the Prohibition Party

By: Jonathan Makeley, Prohibition Party national secretary.

This year, we celebrate an important milestone in the history of the Prohibition Party. September 1st, 2019 marks the 150th anniversary of the founding of the Prohibition Party. The Prohibition Party is the oldest living minor party and third oldest living political party United States. The Prohibition Party has a long, rich, and continuing history. For 150 years, the party has acted as a champion of temperance and prohibitionism. It has championed social reform, ethical public service, and policies aimed at protecting and advancing the lives and wellbeing of the people. It has challenged the power of the major parties, contributed to our national discourse, and helped drive the progress of this country. The Prohibition Party's activism continues to this day, and it will advance into the future, as we create the next chapters of its history.

In commemoration of the 150th anniversary, the members of our party are not only celebrating the party's history. Many are working to spread awareness of our party's history to public. We applaud their hard work. We would encourage all people in this country to look into the history of the Prohibition Party, and the history of Temperance and Prohibition movement in general.

Toward this end, we would like to highlight some notable aspects of the Prohibition Party's history.

The national Prohibition Party was founded in the year 1869, by a group of prohibition supporters, former abolitionists, and other reform activists, led by John Russell. The party was founded to advance the cause of prohibition, to establish a nationwide prohibition on the sale of alcohol, to advance important social reforms that the major parties were neglecting (such as the cause of women's suffrage), and advance a new political environment that was more strongly based in moral principle, ethical public service, and promoting the general welfare. The party started out as a small group of activists and grew over time.

In the 1880's, the Prohibition Party grew to become a leading third party in the county. Many Americans who supported prohibition, women's suffrage, and civil service reform, and who were tired of the unethical and corrupt behaviors of the major parties, joined the Prohibition Party. In the 1884 election, former Kansas governor, John St. John (who established statewide prohibition in Kansas and kicked off the second wave of statewide prohibitionism in the U.S.) was the Prohibition Party candidate for president. He received over 147,000 votes nationwide; roughly 15 times the number of votes the party's candidate in 1880 received. St. John's strong campaign in New York State, (where he received over 25,000 votes) was likely a decisive factor in the defeat of Republican candidate James Blaine in New York to Democrat Grover Cleveland. The defeat of Blaine was the first time the Republicans lost the White House since the election of the first Republican President Abraham Lincoln.

The Prohibition Party continued to grow. In 1888, the Prohibition Party candidate for president Clinton Fisk, received over 249,000 votes. In 1892 Prohibition Party presidential candidate John Wooley received over 270,000 votes, and 2.24% of the popular vote. This was the party's largest presidential result in both total number of votes and percentage. Though each Prohibition Party presidential candidate from 1884 to 1920 received over 100,000 votes and the party's 1904 and 1908 presidential tickets received over a quarter million votes.

The Prohibition Party has also run candidates for many federal, state and local offices. Over the course of it's history, the Prohibition Party has elected numerous candidates to local offices. Historians, such as D. Leigh Colvin and Darcy Richardson have written that the Prohibition Party has elected hundreds of candidates to local office. Prohibitionists have served as mayors in cities such as Cortland, NY, Norfolk, VA, New Bedford, MA, Haverhill, MA, Ogdensburg, NY, Nashville, TN, Marinette, WI, Wellsville, OH, Williamsport, PA, Argonia, KS, Brighton AL, and Willoughby OH. The Prohibition Party has elected representatives to state legislatures in states including Massachusetts, Illinois, and Minnesota. In 1914, the Prohibition Party elected Charles Randall to Congress. He served 3 terms in Congress, and helped to pass the 18th and 19th Amendments. In 1916, the Prohibition Party elected Sidney Catts as Governor of Florida.

There have also been candidates, who while they did not win election, were able to have strong performances. For instance, in 1915, Charles Palmer received over 250,000 votes and 30.6% of the vote for Justice on the Pennsylvania State Supreme Court. In 1920, Ella Boole received over 159,000 votes for U.S. Senator for New York. In 1930, Robert Carroll received over 190,000 votes for Governor of New York. In 1932, Robert P. Schuyler received

over 560,000 votes 25.78% of the vote for U.S. Senator for California. In 1952, Claude A. Watson received over 332,000 votes and 30.35% of the vote for Los Angeles County District Attorney. In 1959, Kenneth Cole received over 199,000 votes for Justice on the Michigan State Supreme Court.

The Prohibition Party continues to run candidates for office. Our most recent candidate to win elected office in James Hedges, who was twice elected Tax Assessor for Thomson Township Pennsylvania, in 2001 and 2005.

In addition to our history of advancing temperance and prohibition, the Prohibition Party has a history of promoting women's rights and participation in politics. The Prohibition Party was the first national political party to officially support the right of women to vote. The Prohibition Party included support for women's suffrage in its first national party platform in 1872. It would decades before the Democratic and Republican parties got around to including women's suffrage in their national platforms. The prohibition party was also the first national political party to adopt support for equal pay for women in the workplace, in its 1892 platform. In 1887, Susanna Salter, the first woman mayor in the U.S., was elected mayor of Argonia, Kansas on the Prohibition Party ticket. The Prohibition Party nominated Anna Woodbey, the first African American woman candidate for office, for The Nebraska State University Board of Regents, in 1896. The Prohibition Party's goal of nationwide women's suffrage was achieved with the passage of the 19th Amendment in 1920. And in 1924, the Prohibition Party nominated Marie Brehm as the first legally recognized woman candidate for Vice-President.

In the late 19th and early 20th century, the United States saw a series of reform movements and social changes, known as the Progressive Era. The Prohibition Party helped to lead the way in promoting many progressive era reforms. The Prohibition Party promoted the establishment of national prohibition, which was established following the passage of the 18th Amendment and the Volstead Act. The party promoted women's suffrage, which was established nationwide by the 19th Amendment. The party promoted the establishment of a federal income tax and the direct election of senators, which were established by the 16th and 17th Amendments. The party promoted the regulation of food and medicine to ensure public safety, which was achieved in legislation, such as the Pure Food and Drug Act. The party promoted laws against child labor, and in 1938 the national child labor laws were established. In many ways, Prohibition Party activists have helped lead the way for progress in this country.

From 1920 to 1933, national prohibition had existed in the United States. Contrary to the myths of national prohibition failing, the actual

history of the period saw a variety of benefits from national prohibition. National prohibition brought about the largest in drinking in United States history. Alcohol induced illness and deaths decreased. Much of the alcohol industry was destroyed and many people were helped to quit drinking. Since alcohol use was a significant factor in driving many forms of crime, the reduction in drinking resulted in a general decrease in the nation's crime rates. While some people illegally produced and trafficked alcohol, this was significantly smaller than the legal alcohol industry that proceeded it, and what crimes they committed were more than compensated by the large reduction in crimes fueled by alcohol use. National prohibition was well enforced in many parts of the country. Though in some parts, corrupt, pro-alcohol politicians from the major parties weakened enforcement.

National Prohibition helped to improve the economic fortunes of many people. Worker productivity improved, to the benefit of workers and businesses. The average incomes and savings of workers and their families increased. Money which was previously wasted on alcohol was used to purchase more household goods, to the benefit of both families and the businesses which sold these products. Many children with drunken fathers, who previously had to work to support their families, were able to pursue an education. The country's education rates increased. The 1929 the Great Depression had started, due to the 1929 Stock market collapse, the failure of the nation's banking system, and world trade problems. Though according to the work of W.G. Calderwood, the average person still had a higher average per capita income under the last four years of national prohibition under the great depression than they did under legal alcohol in the 1910-1915 period.

During the 1920's and 1930's, the Prohibition Party became somewhat of a victim of its own its own partial success. Many of the party's main issues (the establishment of national prohibition, women's suffrage, the direct election of senators, etc...) had been accomplished. As a result, many voters say less of a need to vote for the Prohibition Party and the party's national vote results decreased. Prohibition Party leaders continued to argue that the party was still needed and if anything that there was a greater need to elect prohibition party candidates to office. It was argued the Democratic and Republican Parties were not firmly committed to national prohibition, and could not be trusted to enforce it. This argument would be proven correct, when the national Democratic and Republican parties sided with pro-alcohol special interest and turned against national prohibition.

After national prohibition was established, anti-prohibitionists launched a campaign against it. They were backed by wealthy individuals who had previously profited from

the alcohol industry, and by wealthy individuals, such as the Dupont family, who wanted to legalize alcohol so that they could create a tax on alcohol to replace the newly established income tax that they had to pay. As a result, anti-prohibitionists were able to finance a mass propaganda campaign against national prohibition and buy the support of many politicians. They eventually managed to get the 21st Amendment passed, and national prohibition was repealed. The 21st Amendment bears the distinction of being the only constitutional amendment ratified by state conventions instead of by state legislatures. That it is because they didn't have enough support among the democratically elected state legislators and needed to use conventions in order to get a group of people who would ratify the 21st Amendment.

The end of the national prohibition was a great loss for this country. Following the end of national prohibition, alcohol use increased, national crime rates increased, and the illegal traffic of alcohol not only did not stop, but in some cases increased. Since the end of national prohibition, millions of Americans have died as a result of alcohol use, tens of millions of developed alcohol addictions, and many more have had their mental and physical health damaged by the vast array of illnesses and injuries caused by alcohol. Today, alcohol kills over 88,000 Americans a year, and cost our country over 250,000 billion dollars a year in social, medical, and economic damages. From the standpoint of public health and social wellbeing, the legalization of alcohol has been a massive disaster.

Following the end of national prohibition, the Prohibition Party continued forward, advocating for the reestablishment of national prohibition, and for other social reforms. Some voters returned to the Prohibition Party, and national voting results began to increase again. In 1948, Prohibition Party presidential candidate Claude Watson received over 100,000 votes, and some candidates for statewide offices in the 1930's, 40's and 50's were receiving tens and hundreds of thousands of votes. By 1944, the Prohibition Party was campaigning in favor of civil rights laws.

The alcohol industry and its agents continued to put forward anti-prohibition propaganda and attack the temperance and prohibition movement. By the 1960's, the erosion of many of the old temperance organizations had weakened the Prohibition Party's voter base. But the party continued forward.

One figure who helped to illustrate this persistence was Mark Shaw: who was a minister, temperance activist, peace activist, and the Prohibition Party's 1964 vice-presidential candidate. The historian and Prohibition Party activist Roger Storms wrote the following passage,

"Shortly after Mark Shaw was nominated for Vice President of the United States, a Maryland woman wrote to him on a postcard: "Do you really think that Prohibition is something that can stir support from the American people in this election? I don't." To this he replied: "Neither do I. But, I think it ought to, and that makes all the difference."

That was my first big lesson from Mark Shaw, and I have always remembered it. I was inspired by his life to strive for what ought to be. There are always lots of people around who will tell you what is. There are always lots of people who will go along with what is. But it is such a rare and precious gift to have a man among us who will strive for what ought to be."

One of the great features of the Prohibition Party has been the people in it who have dared to strive for what ought to be and to undertake the hard work to help make change a reality. In this way, we have been part of America's great reformist tradition. Where people of conviction have worked to advance positive change in society. The work of confronting and remedying the ills of society can often be a long and difficult endeavor. But such activism can lay the groundwork for great progress. The early abolitionists were often regarded in their time as insane and extremist. But they continued to advocate for what was right, they convinced more people to support the cause, and eventually the institution of slavery was abolished. Now it can be looked upon by the general public as a barbaric institution, which was destined to fall, and the abolitionists can be seen as brave visionaries. And as people continue to advance the temperance and prohibition, there shall come a time where the alcohol industry will join the institution of slavery on the trash heap of history, and it can be looked upon by future generations as the bygone feature of a backwards past.

As William Jennings Bryan had said, "Destiny is no matter of chance. It is a matter of choice. It is not a thing to be waited for, it is a thing to be achieved." And, "Never be afraid to stand with the minority when the minority is right, for the minority which is right will one day be the majority"

In 1970's, the Prohibition Party entered into the Dodge era. A period from the 1970's to early 2000's, in which the party was led by Earl Dodge. In this period, the party worked to adapt to new circumstances. It worked with the emerging Mothers Against Drunk Driving to combat drunk driving, attempted to promote the party through mediums such as television, attempted to build new networks though thing such as the pro-life movement.

Though the party's overall electoral results gradually declined. In the early 2000's, fortunes began to change for the Prohibition Party. In 2001, James Hedges became the first Prohibition Party candidate elected to office since the 1970's. In 2003, a group of members rose to remove Dodge from leadership. This

produced a temporary split in the party, which was reconciled after the death of Dodge in 2007. By 2011, the party was reunified and new leadership set to work to reinvigorate the party.

Over the past decade, the Prohibition Party reorganized, worked to expand its messaging and recruitment efforts, expanded efforts to promote the party on the internet, and worked to rebuild its state and local level organization. In 2016, the Prohibition Party presidential candidate James Hedges received the party's largest vote result since 1988. In some states, members have worked to reestablish state level party organization. In 2016, the party gained state recognition in Mississippi. In 2018, we saw more Prohibition Party candidates running for state and local offices. In 2019, Prohibition Party member Phil Collins came in second place in the non-partisan election for mayor of Las Vegas, Nevada.

Today, the Prohibition Party is growing. New members are joining on a regular basis. We are expanding our messaging and issue advocacy efforts, rebuilding our state and local party organizations, working to recruit more candidates for office, and preparing for our campaign in the 2020 presidential election. The Prohibition Party is on the rise and we are working to lay the groundwork for future progress.

As we reflect on 150 years of Prohibition Party history, let us remember the many people who were involved in Prohibition Party activism. The people who devoted a part of their life to the party and to its principles and causes. For it is their work that has driven the party, and it is our work that will move it forward.

Earlier in this year, in July, we saw the unfortunate passing of our previous national chairman, Rick Knox. Mr. Knox had served as chairman from 2014, until his death in July. We thank him for his years of service to the party. And while he cannot be with us to celebrate, hopefully is looking upon us as he celebrates with our predecessors.

As we look back upon the past, let us use this awareness to inform our understanding of the present and to inspire us as we look to the future. The Prohibition is needed in the present and will have a role to play in the future of the country.

Our country faces many challenges. Alcohol has produced a social and public health crisis. Alcohol kills over 88,000 Americans a year, an estimated 1/7th of adults have alcohol use disorders, alcohol use is producing a wide variety of illnesses and injuries (including brain damage, organ failure and several forms of cancer), alcohol is helping fuel a variety of crimes (including sexual assault, other violent crimes, and child abuse and neglect), and is costing our country over 250 billion dollars a

year in social, medical, and economic damages. The major politicians have often ignored and done far too little to address this issue, and on far too many occasions have worked to aid the alcohol industry and weaken efforts to combat it.

In addition, we face public health problems for tobacco, the opioid crisis, and variety of illicit drugs. The national is further endangered by misguided and regressive elements to seek to legalize the commercial sale of intoxicants. Such efforts will only serve to make drug problems worse, will allow greedy companies to profit at the expense of public health and wellbeing, and further allow greedy companies to use their wealth and influence to corrupt our political system.

In many instances, we face the challenge of misguided and corrupt politicians, who have neglected their ethical responsibilities as public servants. Who in many cases have been indifferent to the wellbeing of the public, who have allowed corruption to infect our system, and who have undermined public faith in public service and our democratic institutions. Many people have grown tired of the failure of the major parties to adequately address the needs of the public. Meanwhile, the major parties have descended into an increasingly vitriolic and hyper partisan stance towards one another. Where they seek political victory through trying to make the other party more despised than their own. We have seen our recent political environment devolve into an increasingly tribalistic scene, where those with political views and affiliations are increasingly looked upon as enemies, rather than fellow citizens with a difference of opinion.

Our nation faces challenges in the economy, education, healthcare, infrastructure, and so many more issues. The major parties have shown themselves to insufficient for addressing the issues. The nation is in need of greater ideas and efforts, to help move it forward. The Prohibition Party can help to accomplish this. The Prohibition Party can act as a force to promote good governance, based in moral principle, ethical public service, and policies to protect the lives and wellbeing of the public. The Prohibition Party can work to address the problems of alcohol and other harmful substances, through smart prohibitionist policies, including education, prevention, rehabilitation, and ending the commercial sale of toxic substances. The Prohibition Party can work to promote a better political environment, with a healthier political dialogue, greater citizen involvement, and a revitalized spirit of ethical public service. The Prohibition Party can work to advance ideas and approaches to help deal with challenges that our nation faces. And likewise, its state and local branches can work to improve the conditions of states and revitalize communities across our country.

We can work to make this happen. We encourage our members to take resolve in this endeavor, and we encourage all people in this country who would like to make this kind of positive reform in our country, to join the Prohibition Party. Together, we can help chart a better future for our country. We hope that when we reach the 200th Anniversary that we will see a Prohibition Party that is stronger than ever before, and with a United States of America that is in a greater condition than ever before.



Prohibition Party Historical Reading

The Prohibition Party has a rich and continuing history. For those who are looking to help familiarize oneself about the Prohibition Party's history, here are some good places to start:

Prohibition in the United States: A History of the Prohibition Party and of the Prohibition Movement, by D. Leigh Colvin is a classic account of the party's history up to 1926.

The Politics of Prohibition: American Governance and the Prohibition Party, 1869–1933, by Lisa Anderson, is a good example of more recent scholarly work covering the history of the Prohibition Party up to the end of national prohibition.

Partisan prophets; a history of the Prohibition Party, 1854-1972, is a short book on the history of the Prohibition Party up to 1972, and is one of the few significant works that covers the party's history after national prohibition.

America's Other Party: A Brief History of the Prohibition Party, by C.L. Gammon is another good book for providing an overview of the party's history.

The Partisan Prohibition Historical Society website contains plenty of information on the party's history. <http://www.prohibitionists.org/>

There is also the Others book series by Darcy Richardson, which covers the history of third party politics in the country, including that of the Prohibition Party.

There is the paper, The Continuing History of the Prohibition Party, 1933-2018, by Jonathan Makeley, which provide an overview of the party's history after national prohibition. https://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/2cc7be_05fb2a92e40144e7b928acce497ebc2b.pdf

In addition, the paper "The Impact of John St. John's Campaign in New York State on the

Results of the 1884 Presidential Election” provides an in depth look on how Prohibition Party Presidential Candidate John St. John’s campaign helped to determine the 1884 election.

Online newspaper databases, such as newspapers.com, contain a lot of old reports on the activities of the Prohibition Party and its candidates. And the election database OurCampaigns.com contains information on the election results for various Prohibition Party candidates.

Historical Works in Progress

There are people who are currently working to advance the recording and understanding of Prohibition Party history, and there are several interesting projects that are known to be in the works.

James Hedges and the Partisan Prohibition Historical Society are working to produce an updated edition of Roger Storm’s *Partisan Prophets*. It will include an additional piece of supplementary material for the Prohibition Party’s History from the 1970’s to the 2016 election. This should hopefully be out later this year or next year.

The Prohibition Party is reportedly in the early stages of an effort to significantly expand their website, to incorporate information from new research.

Jonathan Makeley is working on a book on the history of the Prohibition Party in Dutchess County, New York.

Adam Seaman is reportedly working on a project researching Prohibition Party candidates who were elected and served as mayors in various cities across the country.

Noah Rudnick is working on a project to chart the county level results for past Prohibition Party presidential candidates. So far, he has posted maps for the 1904 to 2016 elections online:
<https://public.tableau.com/profile/noah7751#/vizhome/HistoricalProhibitionPartyPresidentialPerformance/ProhibitionParty>

The Partisan Prohibition Historical Society

The Partisan Prohibition Historical Society is a historical society centered on the preservation, research, and dissemination of information on the history of the Prohibition Party. The society was founded in the 1970’s by Roger Storms. Today, the Partisan Prohibition Historical Society is one of the leading forces for the advancement of historical knowledge on the Prohibition Party. It’s Prohibitionists.org website provides a vast amount of information on Prohibition Party history.

2019 PPHS Citations of Merit

As part of its work, the Partisan Prohibition Historical Society occasionally award citations of merit to individuals who have helped to advance the research, preservation, and dissemination of Prohibition Party History. This year, the Prohibition Party awarded citations of merit to 3 recipients: Connie L. Gammon, Jonathan Makeley, and John Das.



Quotes From Prohibition Party Figures

The Prohibition Party has included numerous dedicated members throughout its history, who have leant their voices and pens to its causes. This resulted in a many interesting quotes from Prohibition Party figures. Here are some of those quotes:

“Our Party stands for a country so financially, politically, and morally clean as to make it an object lesson to be imitated.” - Silas Swallow, 1904 Prohibition Party presidential candidate

Here is a fearful enemy of God and man — the liquor traffic; it makes ruthless war upon the people; it blasts and destroys their homes as with pestilence and fire; it kills savagely, cruelly, more than a hundred thousand of them every year; robbing them first and driving wives and children to rain and despair.” Neal Dow

If you like the place you live in, if you love your family and you want to stay among your friends and still have a good job and a safe — and, of course, sober — community, Vote Prohibition” James Hedges

“We maintain that all American citizens, regardless of race, religion or national origin, are equal before the law and are entitled to equality of treatment under the laws of our land.” 1960 Prohibition Party Platform

“Amid the rampant self-indulgence of 21st-century America, the Prohibition Party speaks for a more restrained, community-oriented vision of life.” Barry Alfonso

“The Prohibition Party basically is life support for every person and is most in line with the US Constitution and the Declaration of Independence and the desires of the Founding Fathers.” Billy Joe Parker

“After fifty years as a Prohibitionist, I am more convinced than ever that we need a good party, not just good men and good women.” Earl Dodge

“The Prohibition Party has weathered the storms of more than half a century. It has always held up high ideals of government and influenced the reforms for righteousness in our national life. It was the first political party to declare that women were citizens and ought to vote on equal terms with men, which declaration was in its platform as early as 1872. If all the voters who in time past have voted to outlaw the liquor traffic in State and County and town would in this year of our Lord, 1924, vote to utterly destroy it by voting a national ticket composed of platform and candidates who declare for its destruction and for the enforcement of the laws of the land, there would come about a new era in our national politics and our national life...” Marie Brehm

“The whole story is that all of the dangerous drugs, but especially tobacco, alcohol, and marijuana, have largely the same debilitating properties: They are all mind-boggling, mind-altering, performance-lowering, personality changing, behavior-modifying drugs.” Ray Perkins Jr.

“Local candidates (for partisan or non-partisan offices) are needed to both encourage the Prohi membership and to build credibility for the party. They can win.” Gene C. Armistead

“Our aim is not to set the fox to guard the geese. The man who likes beer isn’t fit to enforce the dry law. It is the real prohibitionist who drinks dry as well as talks dry who deserves to enforce it.” John McKee

“Prohibition, as viewed by Prohibitionists, with its relation to the solution of many other social and economic problems, with its economic outreaches, with its view of government as an agency for the promotion of the public good, provides an issue, a platform, a tendency and a new spirit in politics around which to build a party for the present crisis.” David Leigh Colvin

“The Prohibition Party was established as a moralist party, to advance prohibition and other social reforms to promote the public wellbeing. The party is not conservative, it is not liberal; it is prohibitionist.” Jonathan Makeley

“Law ought to be on the side of decency and order, and even though not completely successful in its enforcement it constitutes at least a declaration of the intelligence of the citizens as to what is decent and right.” Charles Manierre

“Our task will not be completed until we put a Prohibitionist in as President. We must affect an organization which reaches all the way from the voting precinct to the White House”. David Leigh Colvin

“it is the first duty of the government to protect the health and lives of its people,” Eugene Chafin

“Do you think a man who votes against a flagrant wrong ever loses his vote? I tell you nay. There is a day after to-day; and the votes of the men who stand up for righteousness today will count in the future of this country—count a hundred times more than the votes of those stifle their consciousness to serve their party” Dr. Washington Gladden

“Some people say our party, that it has not got money nor uniforms nor 80,000 torchbearers. Very True. But we are lighting a torch that will burn forever. We have no influence, they say. Very true. We have not sufficient interest with the railroad companies to secure palace cars to haul us all over the country. In fact, I’m inclined to the belief that, being in the interest of the laborer, it would not be becoming in us to ride through Hocking Valley in a palace car, when laborers are working under the ground with barely enough to live on. [Applause.] We pay our own fare. If we have not sufficient money we go on foot, [cheers,] but we reach our destination. People say: ‘oh we don’t want to throw away our vote.’ Let me tell you that no vote cast for principle ever was thrown away. [Cheers]”. John St. John.

“We must recognize drinking for what it is; the physical, mental, and spiritual mutilation of a person” Jonathan Makeley

“We must advocate for what is right. We must work for the elevation of humanity. We must stand for Morality not Greed; Wellbeing not Exploitation; Excellence not Poverty.” Prohibition Party of New York

“The Prohibition Party stands for maintaining the Constitution and enforcing the Volstead law as well as all other laws, irrespective of the position, influence or wealth, of the law breaker.” George Hinds

“The Prohibition Party is bone dry and the only party in which one can record his vote of protest in this campaign against the return of the saloon with its disgraceful record.” George Hinds

“After all is said, the human being is the unit of value, and prohibition is the only divine element of love for helpless childhood, degraded womanhood and down and out manhood expressed in national and civic salvation for those unfortunate victims of the liquor traffic”. Marie Brehm

“I am a Prohibitionist because I am in favor of God, home and my native land: because the Prohibition Party is the only party that has a live, moral, Christian principle: because I want to lift the pall of intemperance that is shrouding so many homes, and because I love and revere the objects which the party seeks to attain.” Joseph W. Bruce

“We have the right to prohibit the sale of stale meat and fish, and here was something infinitely worse, which we ask shall be prohibited. If we can prevent the sale of stale articles of food, why can we not do it with a drink, which is not only destructive of health, but of the soul?” William J. Groo

“You can fool all the people part of the time, or you can fool some people all the time, but you cannot fool all people all the time.” William J. Groo

“The liquor traffic continues to be the most expensive, the most useless and the most damaging of all evils under which society suffers through the civilized world” John Mears

“I enjoy few things more than a downright, earnest combat with something that deserves to be combated” John Mears

“These words are addressed to the prohibitionists who believe in the principles here enunciated, and propose to support those principles at the ballot-box. We are enlisted for the war, and the struggle will be a long and desperate one before our principles can be fully grafted upon the laws of the land.” John N. Stearns



Prohibition Party Presidential Tickets

The Prohibition Party has nominated candidates for President and Vice-President in every election since 1872. The Following is a list of the Prohibition Party’s presidential tickets from 1872 to 2016.

1872: James Black for President and John Russell for Vice-President

1876: Green Clay Smith and Gideon T. Stewart

1880: Neal Dow and Henry Adams Thompson

1884: John St. John and William Daniel

1888: Clinton B. Fisk and John A. Brooks

1892: John Bidwell and James B. Cranfill

1896: Joshua Leverning and Hale Johnson

1896 Free Silver Prohibitionists: Charles Eugene Bently and James H. Southgate

1900: John G. Wooley and Henry B. Metcalf

1904: Silas C. Swallow and George T. Carroll

1908: Eugene Chafin and Aaron S. Watkins

1912: Eugene Chafin and Aaron S. Watkins

1916: J. Frank Hanley and Dr. Ira Landrith

1920: Aaron S. Watkins and D. Leigh Colvin

1924: Herman P. Faris and Marie C. Brehm

1928: William F. Varney and James A. Edgerton

1932: William D. Upshaw and Frank S. Regan

1936: D. Leigh Colvin and Claude A. Watson

1940: Roger W. Babson and Edgar V. Moorman

1944: Claude A. Watson and Andrew N. Johnson

1948: Claude A. Watson and Dale H. Learn

1952: Stuart Hamblen and Enoch A. Holtwick

1956: Enoch A. Holtwick and Edwin M. Cooper

1960: Rutherford Decker and E. Harold Munn

1964: E. Harold Munn and Mark R. Shaw

1968: E. Harold Munn and Rolland E. Fisher

1972: E. Harold Munn and Marshall E. Uncapher

1976: Benjamin C. Bubar and Earl F. Dodge

1980: Benjamin C. Bubar and Earl F. Dodge

1984: Earl F. Dodge and Warren C. Martin

1988: Earl F. Dodge and George Ormsby

1992: Earl F. Dodge and George Ormsby

1996: Earl F. Dodge and Rachel Bubar Kelly

2000: Earl F. Dodge and W. Dean Watkins

2004: Gene Amondson and Leroy Pletten

2004 Dodge’s temporary break away group: Earl F. Dodge and Howard Lydick

2008: Gene Amondson and Leroy Pletten

2012: Jack Fellure and Toby Davis

2016: James Hedges and Bill Bayes

In addition, the Prohibition Party is running a presidential ticket for 2020. The current ticket is Phil Collins and Billy Joe Parker.

There is a video on the New York Prohibition Party YouTube channel, titled “Prohibition Party Presidential and VP Candidates 1872-2016”, which summarizes the party’s 1872-2016 tickets and includes pictures for all of the presidential and most of the vice-presidential candidates.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xvQL_p8BYB4

Some Presidential Ticket Trivia

Here is some trivia on the party's presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

James Russell was the leading figure involved in originally organizing the Prohibition Party and was the party's first chairman.

Neal Dow was mayor of Portland in the 1850's. He helped lead an effort to establish statewide prohibition in Maine. This kicked off the first wave of statewide prohibition laws in various states in the country.

Prior to being the party's nominee, John St. John was the 8th governor of Kansas. During his time as governor, he led a successful effort to establish statewide prohibition in the state of Kansas. He was also the first Prohibition Party presidential candidate to receive over 100,000 votes and his strong performance in New York likely shifted the results of the 1884 election.

Clinton Fisk was a Union general during the civil war, and was an assistant commissioner for the Freedman's Bureau during reconstruction. Fisk University, in Tennessee, is named after him.

Prior to being the party's nominee, J. Frank Hanley has served in congress and had been the 26th governor of Indiana. His strong performance in California may have shifted the results of the 1916 election.

Marie C. Brehm was the first legally recognized woman candidate for vice-president, following the passage of the 19th Amendment.

Roger Babson was a prominent economist and founder of Babson College.

Stuart Hamblen was a famous musician and has a star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame.

E. Harold Munn, was a college professor and radio producer.

Mark Shaw was a leader in the Intercollegiate Prohibition Association in his youth, and was a minister and peace activist.

W. Dean Watkins was an aeronautical engineer, and the grandson of Aaron Watkins.

Gene Amondson was a minister, temperance activist, and artist. During his life he had appeared on the Oprah Winfree Show.

James Hedges is the first Prohibition Party member to be elected to office in the 21st century.

Five Prohibition Party presidential candidates were candidates more than once. Those were Eugene, Claude A. Watson, E. Harold Munn, Earl Dodge, and Gene Amondson.

Several people who were vice-presidential candidates went on to be presidential candidates. Those were Aaron Watkins, D.

Leigh Colvin, Claude A. Watson, E. Harold Munn, and Earl Dodge. There was even a string of candidates that were connected by presidential and vice-presidential nominations. In 1908 and 1912, Eugene Chafin's running mate was Aaron Watkins. Watkins became the 1920 presidential candidate. His running mate was D. Leigh Colvin. D. Leigh Colvin became the presidential candidate in 1936. His running mate was Claude A. Watson. And Claude A. Watson became the presidential candidate in 1944 and 1948.

Prohibition Party Chairman

Throughout its history, the Prohibition Party has been led by a series of National Chairman, who along with the party's other executive officers, and the Prohibition National Committee, have ran the party nationally. Here is a list of the Prohibition Party's National Chairman.

1867-1872: John Russell, Michigan (1867-1869 for his organizing prior to the formal establishment of the national party in 1869).

1872-1876: Simeon B. Chase, Pennsylvania

1876-1880: James Black, Pennsylvania

1880-1884: Gideon T. Stewart, Ohio

1884-1887: John B. Finch, Nebraska

1887-1900: Samuel Dickie, Michigan

1900-1905: Oliver W. Stewart, Illinois

1905-1908: Charles R. Jones, Pennsylvania

1908-1924: Virgil G. Hinshaw, Oregon

1924-1925: B.E.P. Prugh, Pennsylvania

1925-1932: D. Leigh Colvin, New York

1932-1947: Edward E. Blake, Illinois

1947-1950: Virgil C. Finnell, Indiana

1950-1953: Gerald Overholt, Texas

1953-1955: Lowell H. Coate, California

1955-1971: E. Harold Munn, Sr., Michigan

Cochaired 1958-1962 with Earl F. Dodge, Massachusetts

Cochaired 1963-1967 with Delmar D. Gibbons, Michigan

1971-1979: Charles Wesley Ewing, Michigan

1979-2003: Earl F. Dodge, Colorado

2003-2005: Don Webb, Alabama

2005-2009: Gene Amondson, Alaska

2009-2013: Toby Davis, Tennessee

2013-2014: Gregory Seltzer, Maryland

2014-2019: Rick Knox, Georgia

2019- Randy McNutt, Ohio

Current National Leadership

National Chairman: Randy McNutt

Vice Chairman: James Hedges

Secretary: Jonathan Makeley

Acting Treasurer: James Hedges

Party Platforms

Similar to other political parties, the Prohibition Party has often expressed positions through national platforms, produced in connection with presidential elections. The Prohibition Party's past national platforms can be found on the Prohibitionists.org website. http://www.prohibitionists.org/Background/Party_Platform/party_platform.html



A Deep-Rooted Tradition

The Prohibition Party has lived for 150 years, championing causes of temperance, prohibition, social reform, civil rights, ethical public service, and good governance. But the roots of the Prohibition Party and the grand ideals it has helped promote are rooted in much longer philosophical and political traditions in our country.

The Founding Fathers declared the establishment of the United States with the Declaration of Independence in 1776, and established the foundation of our system of national government with the constitution in 1789.

In the Declaration of Independence, it states:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.—That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed"

This lays forth the general principle, that all people have rights, and that one of the central functions and responsibilities of a legitimate system of government is to protect those rights. These rights must be protected from the abusive actions of people and hence the government has the responsibility to establish laws restricting the behaviors of individuals, private entities, and the government itself, in

order to protect the rights of people. It also lays out the principles that governments are the creation of the people, and derive their power from the consent of the governed. As in, though a democratic republican system. On this basis, the people have the ability to come together to establish laws governing actions, to protect the rights of the people from individual and collective abuses.

Among the rights listed in the Declaration are the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Since we have a right to life, the people have the right to come together through government to establish laws to protect the lives of themselves and each other.

The right to liberty does not mean that a person is entitled to absolutely whatever one wants. On the contrary, the ability of a person to absolutely whatever one wants, without regard for life, the rights and wellbeing of people, and the moral implications of actions, would be state of tyranny. Liberty instead means that people, acting as rational beings, are allowed a general ability to make choices within the bounds of certain general principles, which preserve the lives, rights, and vital wellbeing of people, and to comport with the central moral and natural laws of the universe. To paraphrase John Locke (one of the enlightenment thinkers who influenced the Founding Fathers), though this be a state of liberty, it is not a state of license: a man may not destroy himself or those under his power. The right of liberty cannot conflict with the right of life.

The establishment of laws governing behavior does not go against the right of liberty. Rather when laws are properly designed, they serve to enhance the liberty of a society, by prohibiting and suppressing illegitimate actions which harm people, violate their rights, or commit some other grave wrong. In doing so, it produces a security, which allows people to more freely live their lives as they ought to. To quote the enlightenment philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau,

“Each man in giving himself to everyone gives himself to no-one; and the right over himself that the others get is matched by the right that he gets over each of them. So, he gains as much as he loses, and also gains extra force for the preservation of what he has.”

The right of the pursuit of happiness does not mean that a person is entitled to do or have absolutely anything which is personally pleasant to themselves. As some intellectual historians have written, Thomas Jefferson likely derived the term pursuit of happiness from Scottish moral philosophers, and the term likely referred to the ability of the public to pursue policies that would advance the happiness of the public in general.

The Preamble of the U.S. constitution further lays out general principles and purposes for government in the nation. It states:

“We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.”

Note, that among those principles listed are establishing justice and promoting the general welfare. It states that promoting the general welfare is one the central purposes of governance in this country. As such, it sets forth the principle that the government should use its established powers to produce laws and enact policies in ways which protect the vital wellbeing of its people and are generally conducive to the public wellbeing. In addition, our laws and policies are supposed to be consistent with principles of justice.

Let us consider how these principles apply to the issue of prohibition. Alcohol is vastly destructive to life, and causes a vast amount of illnesses and injuries. It is conducive to violence and crime, produces secondary harm to families, and inflicts vast social, medical, and economic damages to society. It is destructive to both life and the general welfare. While working to eliminate the problem of alcohol would serve to both protect life and improve the general welfare.

Those who ran the alcohol industry, produce and supply this harmful substance, for their own profit. Not only that, they work to promote and perpetuate its use for the sake of enlarging their own wealth, and often seek to oppose public efforts to address the problem of alcohol, to preserve their own wealth. They are integral part of the social, cultural, economic, and political forces which produce and perpetuate the problem of alcohol. They profit off exploiting and harming people, produce damages that everybody in some manner, and then leave the entire population of our society to deal with the fallout. That is unjust. Holding the alcohol industry accountable for its actions and prohibiting them from doing so in the future would serve to wrong this injustice, and help make a more just society.

Alcohol is a toxic substance which distorts the mind. The rational intellect is an essential element to a free being. By impairing the function of the rational intellect, and subordinating the mind to compulsive desires, the use of alcohol serves to destroy the internal liberty of a person. In advancing teetotalism, the temperance movement serves to advance true liberty, and combat the false liberty of license.

The vast harms caused by alcohol produce a vast amount of suffering and misery for many

people in our society. It can be well contended that alcohol has produced general misery, and the alleviation of the problem of alcohol would serve to advance the general happiness of the public.

From these considerations, it can be seen that the principles of temperance and prohibition with several core principles written in the Declaration of Independence, and the U.S. Constitution. And that based on the principles established in them, the American People have the ability to come together, though their elected governments (on the federal, state, and local level) and use the legitimate powers of such bodies, to establish laws and policies to promote temperance and prohibit the commercial production and sale of alcoholic beverages.

In addition, the principles of prohibitionism are deeply rooted in our nation's legal history. In the 19th century, many politicians, legislators, and judicial figures embraced the notion of *Salus Populi Suprema Lex Est*. A Latin term, which roughly translates to, the welfare of the people is the supreme principle of law. Many people in early America recognized that state and local governments had a legitimate interest in establishing laws, policies, and regulations to protect the public wellbeing, and to discourage actions which causes undue harm to people. State and local government created numerous laws governing the behaviors of individuals and private entities, including laws for businesses, and laws to protect public health. And this included laws restricting and even banning the sale of alcohol. The U.S. prohibition movement was supported by and in part grew out of this *Salus Populi* philosophy.

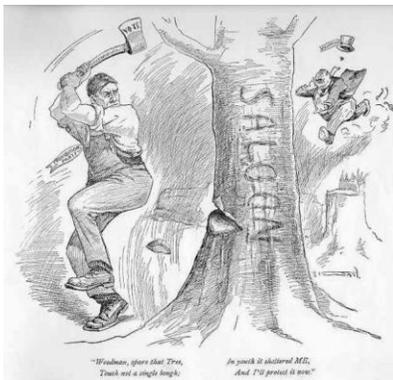
The U.S. prohibition movement developed out of the U.S. temperance movement, which started in the early 19th century and grew into a major movement. As the U.S. temperance movement developed, many temperance activists came to recognize that alcohol was by nature harmful to people, and that total abstinence should be advanced. Many temperance activists also came to realize that alcohol was not just an individual problem, but a social problem. That the alcohol industry fueled and perpetuated the problem of alcohol, and that it would need to be confronted in order to comprehensively address the problem of alcohol.

It was also linked to the nation's broader reform tradition. In the 19th century, various reform movements arose seeking to reform society and improve the conditions of humanity. This included the temperance movement, the abolition movement, the women's suffrage movement, and various other reforms. These movements were often interlinked. As many reform activists were involved in multiple reform movements.

By the 1830's, movements to establish local laws against alcohol had arisen in many

communities. By the late 1804's there were movements to establish statewide prohibition laws. Statewide prohibition laws began to be passed in various states in the 1850's. But these faced challenges from pro-alcohol elements, many of these state laws were repealed by later state legislative sessions or struck down in courts. In the 1860's, another major reform movement, the abolition movement, had succeeded in abolishing slavery nationwide and establishing de jure equal rights and citizenship for former slaves, through the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments.

By the late 1860's there were prohibitionists who saw the need for establishing prohibition nationwide, and for clearly establishing the principles of prohibition in federal and state constitutions, in order to ensure that there was the legitimacy of statewide and national prohibition was legally unquestionable. And by the late 1860's there was a growing element within the prohibition movement who believed that the Democratic and Republican parties were insufficient for advancing prohibition, and that a new political party, centered on advancing prohibition was needed. As a result, a group of temperance and prohibition activists, former abolitionists, women's suffragists, and other reform activist came together to establish the Prohibition Party in 1869. The Prohibition Party and the broader U.S. prohibition movement are part of the nation's long standing and deep-rooted traditions of good governance and social reform.



The Toxic Institution

As we reflect upon the history of the Prohibition Party, we should remain ever aware of our opponent: the alcohol industry. Alcohol is a massive social and public health problem in society. The toxic substance, which poisons the mind and body, creates illness and injury, destroys lives, and inflicts vast social, medical, and economic damages on society. The alcohol industry fuels the problem of alcohol in our society. They produce and supply alcohol for the sake of their own profit. In doing so, they help make the harms of alcohol possible. They exploit and harm people for their own financial gain. Not only that, they encourage people drink and promote a culture of drinking. They seek to create more drinkers and perpetuate

drinking practices to new generations. They use their wealth and influence to buy off politicians, to oppose efforts to restrict alcohol, and to undermine and eliminate existing restrictions. They generally seek to avoid being held accountable for the harm their products have done to people and society. The measly amount of business activity and tax revenue they generate pales in comparison to the vast social, medical, and economic damages their products cause. Every American is effectively forced to suffer as a result of their actions and is forced to pay for the cost of the damages they have inflicted on society.

From the history of their actions, we can see that Alcohol Industry has shown itself to be a fundamentally criminal and anti-democratic enterprise. Looking beyond the general harm it has caused, the alcohol industry has shown that it does not respect this nation's laws, democratic principles, or constitution. When Americans have come together to establish laws restricting and banning the sale of alcohol (or even establish laws that seemed to inconvenient for them), alcohol producers and distributors have often sought to violate such laws. In doing so, they have disrespected both the laws, and the legitimate democratic processes which produced them.

Shortly after the nation was founded, the federal government decided to establish a national tax on alcohol to help cover the nation's debt and expenses. A group of alcohol producers centered in Pennsylvania engaged in an armed insurrection, known as the Whiskey Rebellion. In this, they took up against our nation and its democratic republican principles. This revolt was put down by George Washington and U.S. military forces.

George Washington recognized that the Whiskey Rebellion and its anti-democratic implications threatened the very foundations of the Republic and its legal system. On the matter, he wrote,

"But if the Laws are to be so trampled upon—with impunity—and a minority (a small one too) is to dictate to the majority there is an end put, at one stroke, to republican government; and nothing but anarchy and confusion is to be expected thereafter; for some other man, or society, may dislike another Law & oppose it with equal propriety until all Laws are prostrate and every one (the strongest I presume) will carve for himself."

In 1920, the 18th Amendment to the constitution went into effect, and nationwide prohibition was established. Rather than abide by the constitution, the alcohol industry waged war on it. Some who were involved in the alcohol industry sought to produce and sell alcohol illegally. Though the illegal operations of the alcohol industry were far smaller than their previous legal operations before national prohibition, and they were largely impeded where strong enforcement of national

prohibition was present. Even with their resistance, we saw the largest reduction in drinking in the nation's history, reduced alcohol induced illnesses and deaths, a general reduction in the nation's crime rate, and increased prosperity for the average American. Meanwhile, some in the alcohol industry used their wealth to fund propaganda and buy off politicians. Those efforts eventually resulted in the passage of the 21st amendment and the end of national prohibition.

The alcohol industry profits off harming and exploiting people. Those who run it, think they are entitled to do so, regardless of its effects on people and society. It does not respect the interests of human life and wellbeing, the principles of our democratic republic, or the authority of laws and the constitution. It has and will use propaganda, seek to corrupt politicians, use violence, endeavor to violate laws, work to undermine the constitution, and campaign against our democratic republican system, in order to try to get its own way. In order to stop it, the people of this country must come together and work to abolish it. The alcohol industry must be so thoroughly and completely dismantled and the system of temperance and prohibition so strongly established, that the alcohol industry will be rendered incapable of regenerating.

Congratulations

Congratulations to the Prohibition Party for its 150th anniversary. Congratulations to the people, past and present, who have been involved in it. Congratulations to the people who have worked to preserve, research, write, and spread knowledge of the Prohibition Party and its history. And a preemptive congratulations to the people who will help build the party's future.



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